1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
Mill Rural Mill

that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without soldiers one cannot maintain one's power.

The Kûrdish women, of the nomad tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted with all that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of nomad life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the Shikiah tribe, the beaten Kûrds retired to their encampment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikiah camp by a crowd of women, the pretty ones at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kûrdish delicacy called *djedjik*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The onion-flavoured cheese above mentioned (p. 126).

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handria Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war. 361 [133] [727]

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowandus and Handria rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowandus, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowandus is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowandus river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan [491] [487]

Attention might be directed to the land of Rowandus itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapu), and religious endowment (vaqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economics of the Rowandus district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religous.

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tomans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowandus, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Anis. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Anis asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the Quran. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. [727] I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Hawres in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Hawres what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowandus. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowandus I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [469] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowandus, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443 Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159 with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792 around Rowandus. When I returned, I found I had 200 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowandus to sell groceries. When

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

701 usually called «riflemen», owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Suleimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the items that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Turkish Mauser rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1880, swords and lances were still employed.

702 When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — «just like soldiers are trained». The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of rifleman, and generally a present from the *Agha* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

721 The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the riflemen of the village at short notice for service in the larger units, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Thus a warparty was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose were not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of riflemen to ride in a body to the village and offer the
• 727 inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was settled in it to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

7:. Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

727 622 A Hamawand *Agba*, normally a close relative of the leader of the warparty, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would settle permanently in the village with a small group of Hamawand supporters. What remained of the local taxes after their immediate needs were satisfied would be passed on to the *Agba* leader of the original party.

668 Conflicts easily arose between the Hamawand usurper and his original backer. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the man that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villages.» And later, although the local Hamawands may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow tribesmen in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization integrating a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the stores survive. In case of conflict, the Hamawands risked only the loss of an asset, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically assured the loss of their whole year's crop.

621 622 The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hamawand minority, led by an hereditary *Agba*. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by descent provides the necessary mechanism.

421 651 This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privileges in the economic field. The Hamawands regard themselves as

721 Mahmud of Sulaimaniya, whose several rebellions against the British earned him the unofficial title of 'Director of Training of the R.A.F.' He gave the Royal Air Force practice in operations spread over twelve
726 years. The British method of limited air bombardment after due warning suits the ideas of the chivalrous Kurd in war: to the Kurd it is one of the things that are 'not done' to kill too many people. Shaikh Mahmud and his merry men would set off on the warpath and fight for a few months until they began to suffer discomforts, then give in until the restless highland spirit once more urged them on.
• 727 Sometimes people got killed, but that was one of the misfortunes of the game. During one rebellion, when a British aircraft was brought down near Penjwin, Shaikh Mahmud captured its two occupants and held them prisoner for a fort-

[9.390(e)]

727 night. When they became sick he gave a British doctor safe-conduct through his mountains to succour them. The doctor told Shaikh Mahmud that they could not hope to get fit suffering the hardships of life among the Kurds; so the chivalrous Shaikh released them both, and allowed the doctor to take them back with him.

I remember visiting the village of Hama Rashid, Agha of Norik, chief of the Siwêl tribe, who had at one time thrown in his lot with the restless Shaikh Mahmud. As a result his village had been bombed. I was seated on the ground in the moonlight while the chief and his sons and followers sat around with their rifles ready to defend me should any sporting bandit start sniping from the nearby hills; they described to me the bombing of their village.

726 They laughingly related how they had
727 been warned that their village would be bombed until they gave in—or made their

[p. 391(A)]

726 *dakhalat* (as it is called). They described
• 727 in stirring tones how they retired to some caves a couple of hundred yards from the village and watched the bombs falling on their homes. The only fly in the ointment was that it was their own houses being destroyed and not somebody else's. Apparently they regarded the affair with some amusement, and themselves as naughty boys who had been punished by having to rebuild their houses afterwards. It had taken them two months' hard work to rearrange the village before the onset of winter; so they decided that in future they would not be led astray by promise of excitement unless they were on the side of the British.

527 Another example of the sporting spirit
857 of the Kurds and their disregard for safety is shown in the great sling fights which take place between the children of adjacent villages or of different parts of

[text continued on p. 392(A)]

[p. 391(B)]